CALVIN DOOLEY
U.S. CONGRESS

Endorsements:

Senator Rose Ann Vuich
Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan
Assemblyman Rusty Areias
Assemblyman Jim Costa
National Education Association
California Teachers Association
Peace Officers Research Association of California
California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO Cope
Tulare County Supervisor Clyde Gould
Mayor Art Brieno.....(Hanford)
Mayor Tom Stearns.....(Clovis)
Mayor Greg Collins....(Visalia)
Mayor Al Miller.....(Exeter)
Tom Bohigian.....(Fresno City Council)
Craig Scharton.....(Fresno City Council)
Tulare Co. Deputy Sheriffs Association
Fresno Co. Deputy Sheriffs Association
Kings Co. Deputy Sheriffs Associaiton
Central Valley Chapter of PORAC
South San Joaquin Chapter of PORAC
Fresno Fire Fighters
Visalia Unified Teachers Association
Fresno/Madera Central Labor Council
Kings/Tulare Central Labor Council
Kern/Inyo/Mono Central Labor Council
I.B.E.W. Local 100
Plumbers and Pipefitters #246
UAW, Local 1797
Winery Workers Union Local 45
Editorial endorsements:

Fresno Bee	Tulare Advance Register
Visalia Times Delta	Hanford Sentinel
Lemoore Advance	

THE DOOLEY FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 1367 • VISALIA, CALIFORNIA 93279
(209) 733-8348 • DOUG BERG, TREASURER

2023.009.0394a

CALVIN DOOLEY
U.S. CONGRESS

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

EMPLOYMENT
Dooley Farms, partner
Administrative Assistant, State Senator Rose Ann Vuich

EDUCATION
Masters of Science in Management, Sloan Fellow at Stanford University in 1986-87.
Bachelor of Science in Agricultural Economics, University of California at Davis in 1977.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATONS
Farm Bureau: Past Vice President, Tulare County.
State Labor Policy Committee.
Board of Directors, Tulare County.
State Delegate, Tulare County.
Agricultural Leadership Associates.
Agricultural Issues and Outlook Symposium, Steering Committee.
Outstanding Farmers of America.
Visalia Chamber of Commerce: Agribusiness Committee.
Legislative Committee.
Director, County Line Cooperative Cotton Gin, 1983-86.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
Chairman, Tulare County University of California Campus Expansion Task Force.
Founder, Visalia Senior Gleaners.
Member, Founding Board of Directors of Tulare County Food Resources.
Member, Tulare County Environmental Affairs Committee.
Member, Steering Committee, Visalians Organized to Improve our Children's Education.
Rotary, Visalia County Center.
Member, Visalia Unified School District Facilities Task Force.

AWARDS AND HONORS
Regional Finalist, White House Fellowship Program, 1987.
Sloan Fellow, Stanford University, 1986-87.
Outstanding Young Farmer in California, selected by the Jaycees, 1985.
State Winner and national Runner-up, 1985 Farm Bureau Discussion Contest.
Nominated by Assemblyman Jim Costa and subsequently selected as one of the Outstanding Young Men of America, 1985.
Member, Class 13, Agricultural Leadership Program.
State President, California Association of the Future Farmers of America, 1972-73.

PERSONAL
Birthday:1/11/54
Married:Linda
Children:Brooke and Emily, ages 8 and 6.

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Fairbank,
Bregman
& Maullin

Marketing Research &
Public Opinion Analysis

MEMORANDUM

To: All Interested Parties

From: Fairbank, Bregman & Maullin

Date: June 27, 1990

Re: California 17th C.D. Poll Results

SAVINGS AND LOAN SCANDAL CAUSES GREAT DAMAGE TO THE ALREADY TENUOUS RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF CONGRESSMAN CHIP PASHAYAN

A survey conducted June 21-23, 1990 for Democratic Congressional candidate Calvin Dooley, shows that Congressman Charles "Chip" Pashayan's prospects for re-election are gravely damaged by his close ties to Charles Keating and the savings and loan industry.

Pashayan is the first House Republican whose ties to the S&L scandal are having a significant impact on his re-election chances. According to pollster John Fairbank, voters are clearly looking to punish members of Congress who are associated with Keating and the S&L scandal. "By November, Chip Pashayan may very well be the first Republican casualty of the savings and loan crisis."

I. VOTERS DO NOT FEEL THAT PASHAYAN SHOULD BE RE-ELECTED

Even before voters learn about Pashayan's involvement in the S&L scandal, more voters say they would prefer a new person rather than re-electing Congressman Pashayan:

> "Thinking ahead to this November's general election for Congress, do you feel that Congressman Chip Pashayan should be re-elected, or do you think it is time for a change and a new person should be elected to Congress?"

Should re-elect Pashayan	39%
Should elect a new person	42%
Depends on person (volunteered)	12%
Don't Know (volunteered)	7%

It has been our experience that having fewer than 40% of the voters say they want to re-elect an incumbent Congressman indicates an incumbent who is extremely vulnerable to the challenge of a qualified opponent.

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II. FACTS ABOUT PASHAYAN'S ACTIONS ARE VERY DAMAGING TO HIM

Three statements about Pashayan's involvement in the savings and loan problem illustrate why voters say that they will vote for someone else:

70% are less likely to vote for him because "He has taken $26,000. in contributions from Arizona's Charles Keating, Chairman of Lincoln Savings and Loan, which was one of the largest institutions to go bankrupt."

65% are less likely to vote for him because "He has taken thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from the savings and loan industry."

61% are less likely to vote for him because "He says that he was just trying to get government regulators off the backs of savings and loan companies and returned the $26,000. in contributions to Keating."

III. AFTER LEARNING OF HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH S&L PROBLEMS, THE VAST MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY THEY WILL NOT SUPPORT PASHAYAN

After learning specific information about Congressman Pashayan's connection to Charles Keating and his role with the savings and loan problems, nearly three-fourths of the voters say they will vote for someone other than Pashayan:

"If you knew that these statements about Chip Pashayan's role in the savings and loan situation were true, would you definitely vote for Chip Pashayan for U.S. Congress, probably vote for him, probably vote for someone else, or definitely vote for someone else?"

Definitely for Pashayan	7%	
		20%
Probably for Pashayan	13%	
Probably someone else	33%	
		71%
Definitely someone else	38%	
Don't Know (volunteered)	9%	

IV. VOTERS VIEW THE S&L SCANDAL AS A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE NATION

Most voters (81%) are familiar with the savings and loan industry problems, and an approximately equal number (82%) say those problems are very serious.

"Next, have you heard or seen anything about the problems with the savings and loan industry? (IF YES, ASK): Is that a great deal, some or almost nothing?"

A great deal	46%
Some	35%
Almost nothing	10%
No, never heard of it	8%
Don't Know (volunteered)	1%

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"From what you know, how serious do you feel the savings and loan industry problems are? Are they extremely serious, very serious, somewhat serious or not too serious?"

Extremely serious	56%	82%
Very serious	26%	
Somewhat serious	12%	14%
Not too serious	2%	
Don't Know (volunteered)	4%	

V. VOTERS PUT BLAME ON MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, LIKE CHIP PASHAYAN, WHO TOOK MONEY FROM THE SAVINGS & LOAN INDUSTRY.

"Next, let me tell you a bit more about these problems. Recently, many savings and loan institutions have gone bankrupt, and this will cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars. From what you know about the savings and loan industry problems, please tell me whether you think each of the following should accept a great deal of blame, some blame, very little blame, or no blame at all for these problems."

	GREAT DEAL	SOME	VERY LITTLE	NONE	DON'T KNOW
A few members of Congress who took campaign contributions from savings and loan executives	50%	35%	7%	3%	5%
Members of Congress who blocked tough regulations to clean up the industry	50%	33%	5%	4%	8%

In short, voters in California's 17th Congressional District are familiar with the savings and loan scandal, believe it is a serious problem, and when they learn about Congressman Chip Pashayan's actions on behalf of the S&L industry, are ready and willing to vote for a qualified candidate to replace Pashayan in Congress.

Fairbank, Bregman & Maullin conducted a survey of 401 randomly selected likely voters in November's election throughout the 17th Congressional District of California. Interviewing was completed during the period June 21-23, 1990. A sample of this size has a margin of error of +/- 5%, at the 95% confidence level. For further information about the methodology or other specifics concerning the poll, please contact John Fairbank at (213)828-1183.

Fairbank, Bregman & Maullin

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June 28, 1990 Visalia Times-Delta

Democrats put support behind Dooley campaign

By Earle Eldridge
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — Calling Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan one of the Democratic Party's "better target opportunities," national party officials pledged Wednesday to put full support and money behind Calvin Dooley of Visalia, Pashayan's opponent in the November election.

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee paraded Dooley before a reporters Wednesday as the Democrat who can finally unseat Pashayan, R-Fresno.

Dooley and his wife, Linda, were in the nation's capital drumming up support for his campaign.

Doug Sosnik, political adviser for the campaign committee, refused to say how much money Dooley will get.

But he called Pashayan one of the Democrats' "better target opportunities" in the election, which is not expected to produce significant gains for the Democratic party.

Dooley said his campaign will target Pashayan's ties to the savings and loan crisis.

"The S&L crisis is going to

See Dooley/2A

Calvin Dooley
. . . opposes Pashayan on ballot

Dooley

Continued from page 1A

allow us to demonstrate the ineffectiveness and lost priorities of Congressman Pashayan," Dooley said.

The 12-term congressman accepted a $26,000 campaign contribution from Charles Keating Jr., chairman of the now defunct Lincoln Savings & Loan and a principal figure who bragged about exerting political influence.

Pashayan refused to return the money until the day before Edwin Gray, chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board, testified before a congressional committee.

Gray mentioned Pashayan as one of the Congress members who pressured him to back off enforcement of a regulation limiting to 10 percent the amount of assets a savings and loan could invest in risky ventures.

Pashayan also introduced a bill to overturn the 10 percent limitation rule. Dooley claims Pashayan's involvement with S&Ls is an example "of special interests exerting control over Pashayan."

Pashayan has said his bill was an attempt to help troubled thrifts in his district such as Presidio Savings and Loan in Porterville. He said he returned the money because he wanted to "avoid any appearance of impropriety on my part."

Pashayan said Wednesday his conversations with Gray were his way of "shaking the tree" because he wasn't a member of a House Banking committee.

"When you're not on a committee you have to shake the tree a lot harder, you have to scream a lot louder," Pashayan said. "So I had to work very hard in favor of the local S&Ls. I felt they had to have diversity in where they could invest their money."

Dooley's campaign said Wednesday a poll it commissioned found that Pashayan's reelection campaign is in trouble because of his ties to the troubled savings and loan industry.

The poll, conducted by the Santa Monica firm of Fairbank, Bregman & Maullin, surveyed 401 voters selected at random between June 21 and June 21. The margin of error is 5 percent.

The poll reported that 71 percent of respondents would not vote for Pashayan after pollsters read respondents three statements describing cash contributions Pashayan received from Charles Keating, chairman of Lincoln Savings and Loan.

Pashayan said he will take Dooley's campaign fight seriously.

The 36-year-old Tulare County native defeated other Democratic opponents in a June 5 primary runoff.

Sosnik also harped on Pashayan's ties to the S&L crisis, claiming his conduct "exceeds that of the Keating five," referring to the five senators who pressured Gray to stop investigating Keating's failing Lincoln Savings and Loan.

Dooley criticized Pashayan for his switch from the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to the Rules Committee. Dooley claims the 17th Congressional District's agriculture interests are best served by the Interior Committee. But Pashayan said there are numerous bills, such as clean air legislation and the farm bill, that must come before the rules committee.

Dooley also attacked Pashayan for not crafting a deal with Rep. George Miller, D-Calif., and other key House leaders on overhauling federal irrigation water reforms. The reforms included closing loopholes on the size of farms receiving federally subsidized water.

When asked if he was shooting too high by going for a congressional seat in his first bid for public office, Dooley laughed and said his inexperience will not hurt him.

"I don't think the people want a professional politician," Dooley said.

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Thursday, June 28, 1990 THE FRESNO BEE

Dooley attacks Pashayan

Republican says S & L deals were for his district

By MICHAEL DOYLE
Bee Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — Democratic congressional candidate Calvin Dooley gave ample notice Wednesday that he will try to hang the nation's $130 billion savings and loan crisis around the neck of Fresno Republican Charles "Chip" Pashayan.

Appearing before national political reporters at Democratic Party headquarters, Dooley repeatedly criticized Pashayan for his involvement with officials from the controversial Lincoln Savings and Loan.

"People are going to look for someone that they can hold accountable," Dooley said. "[This is] the first race where we're going to get an indication of the feelings that people have about the savings and loan crisis."

Pashayan said that he did nothing improper on Lincoln's behalf and that his involvement in thrift issues came because some savings and loans in his district needed help.

He said he was aware that savings and loan issues could be raised by challengers in congressional campaigns.

"Both political parties are going to do their best to blame the other party," Pashayan said. "I would hope we could rise above that."

Dooley will face Pashayan in November for the right to represent a congressional district that stretches from Eastern Fresno County to the outskirts of Bakersfield.

Pashayan has held the 17th Congressional District seat since 1979.

A poll commissioned for Dooley's campaign suggests that people's fears and resentments might be effectively tapped in the effort to unseat Pashayan. The survey, by the Democratic polling firm of Fairbank, Bregman and Maullin, found that 42 percent of the 401 registered voters asked believe a "new person should be elected" instead of Pashayan.

The survey further found that in a head-to-head comparison, Dooley was

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Attacks

Continued from Metro page

supported by 39 percent compared with 19 percent for Pashayan and 41 percent undecided.

These results came after pollsters provided negative information about Pashayan's association with Lincoln Savings and Loan officials.

"We think we've got a sitting duck in Pashayan," said Doug Sosnik, political director for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Polls taken 4½ months before an election usually should be considered with a grain of salt. In 1986, a survey taken by the same Democratic polling firm used by Dooley also concluded that Pashayan was politically vulnerable, but challenger John Hartnett still only took 40 percent of the vote that year.

The most recent survey found less support for Pashayan now than four years ago.

The poll shows this support further weakening after voters learn about the Lincoln Savings and Loan mess.

Lincoln's failure will cost U.S. taxpayers up to $2.5 billion, and has become the most widely used symbol for problems associated with the nation's thrifts. The willingness of lawmakers who received extensive political contributions from Lincoln officials to intervene on the thrift's behalf has further become a potent symbol for political influence peddling.

Financier Charles Keating, Jr., his family members and others associated with the thrift contributed $26,000 to Pashayan's congressional campaign in 1986. Pashayan says he believes the Keating contributions were related in part to his work on anti-pornography legislation.

Before receiving the contributions, Pashayan had pushed federal regulators to relax restrictions on the types of investments that thrifts could make.

While those investment restrictions would have cut into Lincoln's business, Pashayan says he was concerned because they would have hurt a thrift in his own district, Presidio Savings and Loan of Porterville. Federal regulators seized Presidio in 1985 as insolvent.

After first saying he saw no reason to, Pashayan returned the campaign contributions to Lincoln officials last year, one day before a former federal regulator was to testify that Pashayan lobbied him hard to ease some thrift restrictions.

In addition to meeting the national press on Wednesday, Dooley was spending time this week with members of the California Democratic congressional delegation and political action committees associated with labor and other groups.

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Norman Ornstein on the 'Permanent' Democratic Majority, p. 22

ROLL CALL

THE NEWSPAPER OF CONGRESS

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VOL. 36, NO. 10 MONDAY, JULY 16, 1990

Anti-Incumbent Sentiment Runs Strong

'Barometric Drop' in the Standing of Members Suddenly Appears in Polls

By Susan B. Glasser

Despite earlier skepticism by political professionals who believed that reports of an anti-Congress mood across the country were overblown, both Democratic and Republican consultants now see solid evidence that the public is reacting strongly against incumbents.

"For some time," said Democratic pollster Alan Secrest, "pollsters in both parties had tracked a low-grade anti-incumbency bias. About four weeks ago that sentiment gelled. It was like a barometric drop before a storm."

Secrest says that recent trial-heat numbers for incumbents are "severely lower" than they have been in previous polls.

But campaign experts are divided over whether this anti-incumbent sentiment — fed in large part by the S&L crisis, public opposition to PAC money and honoraria, ethics scandals, and the pay raise — will lead to the defeat of large numbers of sitting Members of Congress.

In 1986, only eight Members who sought re-election were defeated. In 1988, only seven Members lost. So far this year, just one House Member, Rep. Buz Lukens (R-Ohio), has been defeated in a primary.

But, as the separate article on this page

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Photo by Maureen Keating

No. 1. Rep. Chip Pashayan: S&L ties are damaging the six-term Republican.

Photo by Laura Patterson

No. 2. Rep. Denny Smith: Pro-life stance, S&L board membership hurt.

Photo by Maureen Keating

No. 12. Rep. James McClure Clarke: challenger hitting the pay-raise issue.

The 20 Members Most in Jeopardy

By Kim Mattingly

With less than four months to go before the 1990 elections, Roll Call's campaign surveyors have come up with a list of 20 current Members of the House who we think stand a good chance of losing their jobs this year.

Considering that just one incumbent House Member lost in the 1988 primaries and just six Members lost in the general elections, we're not about to bet that all 20 will meet political defeat.

But given the anti-incumbent fervor that pollsters, candidates, and campaigns say is sweeping the land, these are the races to watch.

We didn't intend it this way, but the list is just about evenly split — 11 Democrats and 9 Republicans. And while any anti-incumbency wave is expected to hurt the Democratic majority, the notable fact is that six of the top ten Members in jeopardy at this point are Republicans.

California Rep. Chip Pashayan (R) and Oregon Rep. Denny Smith (R), Nos. 1 and 2, are struggling under the burden of S&L

Continued on page 10

The Full List, in Order of Vulnerability....

1. Chip Pashayan (R-Calif)
2. Denny Smith (R-Ore)
3. Jolene Unsoeld (D-Wash)
4. Arlan Stangeland (R-Minn)
5. Roy Dyson (D-Md)
6. Craig James (R-Fla)
7. Ben Jones (D-Ga)
8. Peter Smith (R-Vt)
9. George Sangmeister (D-Ill)
10. Bill Dickinson (R-Ala)
11. Peter Hoagland (D-Neb)
12. James McClure Clarke (D-NC)
13. Bill Sarpalius (D-Texas)
14. John Hiler (R-Ind)
15. George Brown (D-Calif)
16. Bill Hefner (D-NC)
17. Stan Parris (R-Va)
18. Curt Weldon (R-Pa)
19. Jill Long (D-Ind)
20. Frank Annunzio (D-Ill)

Intelligence

A broad movement has developed to make changes in rules governing House Intelligence Committee membership. Options include: making the panel a permanent, rather than a select, committee; increasing the terms of chairmen; and letting members serve eight, rather than six, years. For details, see page 3.

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Continued from page 1

ties — a potent issue for this year's elections. They are the most likely casualties of the financial disaster.

Illinois Democrat Frank Annunzio, who chairs the House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee's panel on financial institutions, has become the cornerstone of the GOP argument against S&L-Congressional connections. But as a 13-term machine politician, he'll be tough to beat and currently comes in at No. 20.

Washington Democrat Jolene Unsoeld won the closest race in the country in 1988. She's currently the most vulnerable Democrat at No. 3.

Because scandal was the key to knocking off incumbents in 1988, several on Roll Call's list are embroiled in ethics charges, including Reps. Arlan Stangeland (R-Minn), Roy Dyson (D-Md), and Bill Dickinson (R-Ala).

Unexpected ethics allegations against Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa) are also making some headway and have placed the second-term Congressman at No. 18. But Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass), once a top GOP target, does not make an appearance on our list; he has a weak GOP opponent.

Meanwhile, freshmen who originally looked vulnerable but are currently in fairly good shape include Reps. Ron Machtley (R-RI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and Steve Schiff (R-NM). Also not on the latest list are a few GOP targets: Reps. Liz Patterson (D-SC), David Bonior (D-Mich), Howard Wolpe (D-Mich), and Phil Sharp (D-Ind).

The outlook is bound to change as the elections draw nearer, but for the sizzling summer campaign season, we rank the following 20 as the hottest House races.

Election reviews that follow were written by Kim Mattingly, Tim Curran, Craig Winneker, Karen Foerstel, and Glenn R. Simpson.

1. Chip Pashayan (R)

California 17 (Principal city: Fresno)
6th term (71 percent)

With polls showing that well over a majority of district voters want to replace the incumbent with someone else, Pashayan, 49, is the most vulnerable Member in the House.

Even Republicans are admitting that California's 17th district seat will be a difficult one to hold. And Democrats have lined up a strong challenger against Pashayan, whose role in the savings and loan crisis may prove fatal in his bid for a seventh term.

A recent poll commissioned by the campaign of Democratic challenger Calvin Dooley, 36, showed that 71 percent of the 401 surveyed would likely vote for someone other than Pashayan because of his S&L ties.

During last year's Congressional hearings on the savings and loan crisis, then-Federal Home Loan Bank Board Chairman Edwin Gray testified that Pashayan "lobbied me very hard" to drop regulations against federally insured thrifts.

The incumbent accepted some $26,000 in campaign contributions from S&L interests.

Another factor at work against Pashayan is his recent switch from the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to the Rules Committee. Dooley, a fourth-generation farmer, called the switch an "abdication of [Pashayan's] responsibility" to address California's drought and agricultural problems. Pashayan, who earned his Master's in literature from Oxford University at age 36, just before he was elected to Congress, also sits on the ethics committee.

Dooley has received the endorsements of local law enforcers, education leaders, and his former boss, state Sen. Rose Ann Vuich. Vuich's state Senate district comprises about 75 percent of the 17th Congressional district.

Another potential factor in the race is Pashayan's messy divorce. While Dooley said he will not make an issue of the incumbent's personal life, the district's constituents may not be so kind.

2023.009.03941

The Public Finally Becomes Furious Over S&L Debacle

FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1990

S&L Debacle Turns Into A Sizzling Political Issue

Voters are furious, pollsters say

7/20/90

By Larry Liebert
Chronicle Washington Bureau Chief

Washington

Representative Charles (Chip) Pashayan began his re-election campaign with all the advantages of an entrenched incumbent, distracted only by occasional questions about his bitter divorce.

But the Fresno Republican is in real trouble now that the juicy details of his domestic life have been eclipsed by $28,000 in campaign contributions he once accepted from savings and loan tycoon Charles Keating Jr. and associates.

"I returned the money in November of last year," Pashayan tells anyone who asks. "All of it."

Nonetheless, Roll Call, an insider's newspaper on Capitol Hill, named Pashayan this week the "most vulnerable member in the House" because of his connection to the savings and loans.

The American public is increasingly angry at the politicians who permitted high-flying savings and loan operators to stick taxpayers with a bailout bill that could exceed $500 billion.

The savings and loan debacle is rivaling abortion as what campaign strategists call a "hot button" issue — one that can make or break political careers.

"People are furious," said pollster Peter Hart. "It's a scandal they think is absolutely outrageous, and they think they're getting stuck with the due bill."

For months, the savings and loan situation has been mind-numbing grist for the mill of economic analysts and Sunday morning talk shows. Politicians were restrained in casting partisan blame

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San Francisco Chronicle
7/30/90

From Page A1

for the scandal, painfully aware that there was plenty of trouble to go around.

It was the political equivalent of "mutual assured destruction," the theory of nuclear deterrence that assumes neither superpower will start a war that would be certain to destroy them both.

Now, the truce has broken down.

"We're going to pay a price, because the American electorate is very turned off," Ed Rollins, who runs the National Republican Congressional Committee, predicted this week. Warning that the political carnage will include incumbents of both parties, Rollins has said that "there will be casualties on both sides."

Neil Bush's Role

If there is a single reason why the savings and loan scandal exploded into a political crisis, it is a sandy-haired Denver businessman named Neil Bush. When the president's 35-year-old son became embroiled in the savings scandal, he gave the issue a human face.

Regulators have accused young Bush of "one of the worst kinds of conflict of interest" for allegedly promoting the interests of his financial backers while serving as a director of Silverado Savings, a Colorado thrift whose collapse may cost taxpayers $1 billion.

Even Neil Bush himself seemed incredulous when he described "the incredible sweet deal" that one of those backers gave him — a $100,000 loan for commodities speculation that he never had to pay back.

Democrats gloat that Neil Bush personifies a "decade of greed" and anything-goes deregulation under Republican presidents in the 1980s.

"It was a decade in which decent young men like Neil Bush got way off track, and way in over their heads," said Mike McCurry, spokesman for the Democratic National Committee. "They started cutting deals and making a fast killing because that was the ethic of the time."

Some polls show that Americans so far tend to blame Republicans more than Democrats for the savings and loan scandal — by 35 percent to 19 percent in a Newsweek poll, for example.

Republicans blame most of the savings and loan mess on Democratic leaders in Congress, who wrote the laws for the deregulated savings industry, then pressured regulators to go easy on big contributors.

Rollins has zeroed in on Democrats like former House Speaker Jim Wright of Texas and former House majority whip Tony Coelho of Merced, both of whom quit under ethical clouds that involved their relationships with savings and loan benefactors. He has also attacked California's Senator Alan Cranston and four colleagues — ignoring that one was a Republican — who are being investigated by the Senate ethics committee for intervening with regulators on behalf of Keating.

"For a few million dollars in campaign contributions," Rollins said of the Democrats, "they sold out the taxpayers. For the sake of their own re-elections, they left us a bailout legacy that could reach a cost of thousands for every taxpayer for generations."

Intense politicization of the savings and loan mess began building in early June, as publicity grew over Neil Bush's long-simmering problems and a few Democrats began taking potshots at the administration.

The turning point came on June 19, when White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater bluntly warned that "the Democrats have a big role in the crisis" and would regret making it a campaign issue.

"If they want to do it, so be it," Fitzwater said. "There are a lot of battles that can be fought on this turf, and we're ready."

The combative warning from the podium in the White House press room backfired. Instead of putting the lid back on the savings and loan debate, Fitzwater's comments riveted attention on the partisan dimensions of the conflict.

Hunger for Revenge

As the politicians try to mak their opponents the scapegoat the awesome cost of rescuing th savings and loans seems to be pr

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San Francisco Chronicle
Friday, July 20, 1990

ducing a hunger for revenge among average Americans.

"For the first time, there's a sense that there may not be a good guy in this," Democratic pollster Hart said, "but voters think they've found a few bad guys."

In campaigns across the country, candidates are searching their opponents' contributor lists and voting records for damning connections to the once-influential operators of savings and loans that have gone broke.

"Every candidate for everything is looking for that connection now," said Republican pollster Dick Dresner. "If you can prove it, to a greater or lesser extent, you've got something."

Gubernatorial Race

Dresner said strategists for his clients, including California's Senator Pete Wilson, the Republican candidate for governor, have "had a lot of discussions" about the potentially crucial issue.

A recent report by the Common Cause reform group described Wilson as the Senate's top recipient of contributions from savings and loan political action committees. Wilson quickly denounced the report as distorted because it failed to point out that savings and loans represented a relatively small percentage of his huge fund-raising total.

Wilson's campaign is well aware that his Democratic opponent, Dianne Feinstein, could make campaign use of the Common Cause report. On the other hand, Wilson is planning to attack the complex finances of Feinstein's husband, Richard Blum.

Dresner said that another of his clients, Clayton Williams, the Republican candidate for governor in Texas, plans to accuse Democratic rival Ann Richards of helping savings and loans in her state escape tough regulation.

"If anybody ever had an account in an S&L, they're in trouble," joked Kam Kuwata, Cranston's campaign manager.

Having endured miserable months when Cranston and his four Senate colleagues were the focus of criticism in the savings debacle, Kuwata said, "It's clear now it wasn't just five people who created the alleged $500 billion mess."

Cranston does not face re-election until 1992, but some of the incumbents facing questions about the savings and loan scandal this year include:

■ Representative Frank Annunzio, D-Illinois. The gravel-voiced Chicago legislator was one of the top recipients of savings and loan contributions. As a senior member of the House Banking Committee, he attempted to fend off regulators when they finally cracked down on speculative investments by thrifts.

Demonstrating the adage that the best defense is a good offense, Annunzio has become one of the most aggressive accusers of Neil Bush. And he wears a big button with his recently-adopted motto: "Jail the S&L crooks."

■ Representative Denny Smith, R-Oregon. Smith, who only narrowly won re-election two years ago, served as director of a savings and loan in his district that eventually failed. At the same time, the Oregonian newspaper revealed, he lobbied regulators not to seek damages from the directors of failed savings and loans.

■ Representative Doug Bosco, D-Sebastopol. He may be criticized by Republican rival Frank Riggs over Bosco's past links to Centennial Savings and Loan Association, a Sonoma-based thrift that was one of the spiciest and most spectacular S&L scandals in California.

■ Pashayan, who often has been described as vulnerable by overly optimistic Democrats but this times appears to be in real trouble.

Calvin Dooley, Pashayan's Democratic opponent, is attempting to portray the incumbent's contributions from savings and loans as proof that he has lost touch with his Central Valley constituents.

"It's indicative of a pattern of Chip's failure to promote the interests of the people of this district," Dooley said. "He responded to the interest of Charles Keating and introduced a bill on his behalf, and yet in his 12 years in office, he's only had one bill he has enacted into law."

Pornography

Pashayan insists he does not even know Keating, whose former savings and loan may require a federal bailout of up to $2 billion. The congressman said he believes the Arizona entrepreneur raised campaign funds for him partly because of their shared interest in outlawing pornography.

The 49-year-old congressman acknowledges lobbying regulators against a crackdown on speculative investments by savings and loans, but insists he did so to protect several small thrifts in his district.

Pashayan steadfastly refused to make any predictions about his chances for survival in the November election, saying only that "it's up to the voters."

But he could not hide his chagrin about the suddenly superheated struggle over blame for the savings and loan debacle. "Both

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SUNDAY
The Fresno Bee ©
July 22, 1990 ★★

Will Pashayan's defense of S&L backfire?

By MICHAEL DOYLE
and JIM BOREN
Bee staff writers

Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, never lost faith in Presidio Savings and Loan, even as the Porterville-based thrift was collapsing.

The failure of Presidio, which cost the federal savings and loan insurance fund an estimated $35.2 million, provides one local example of how the S&L industry grew fast and then fell apart even faster in the 1980s.

Now the S&L debacle has become a hot campaign issue, and members of Congress like Pashayan who lobbied on behalf of failing thrifts are finding themselves under political attack.

There is no evidence that Pashayan did anything improper on Presidio's behalf; indeed, there is no evidence that his actions influenced regulators at all.

But at least one former S&L regulator who was repeatedly lobbied by Pashayan says the congressman deserves defeat in the November election.

"If there's any one person who ought to be voted out of office because of the savings and loan crisis, he's certainly one of them," said Edwin Gray, former Federal Home Loan Bank Board chairman.

How Pashayan's S&L involvement will be viewed in the upcoming election remains to be seen.

But one Washington insider newspaper has already tagged Pashayan as the most politically vulnerable member of Congress, partly for his acceptance of $26,000 in campaign contributions from financier Charles Keating and his associates.

The collapse of Keating's Lincoln Savings & Loan has become a symbol of the S&L crisis.

Pashayan ultimately gave the Keating money back. Although he tried to block S&L regulations opposed by the controversial Keating, Pashayan has said that he never lobbied on behalf of

See **Pashayan,** back page

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Pashayan

Continued from Page A1

Keating or his Lincoln Savings and Loan.

Pashayan says his opposition to the S&L regulations were part of his efforts on behalf of Presidio, a business in his district that he says was under attack by federal regulators.

Pashayan says that the government actions against Presidio "seemed to be out of balance" compared to Presidio's size.

"The little guys can't cause more than a little problem," Pashayan said. "It was a small S&L."

Regulators say Presidio poured money into construction loans without first obtaining appraisals, entered into risky business ventures and aggressively speculated in the bond futures market.

And in an effort to hide its shortcomings, federal regulators charged, some Presidio officials falsified the company's financial records.

Presidio directors vigorously deny the charges.

The Presidio officials, backed by Pashayan, contend that they were driven out of business by regulators. A little more patience, they say, and Presidio could have remained open to serve the valley.

Some of the Presidio officials have carried their fight into U.S. District Court in Fresno, where they have filed a harassment suit against the government.

"The regulators got vicious," said Angel Diaz, a Delano resident and former Presidio director. "If I'm guilty, give me 100 years in prison. But if I'm not guilty, let the regulators have five years in prison."

Diaz, who chairs a Hispanic political action committee, said he helped Pashayan with his re-election campaigns after the congressman helped Presidio.

"I have met people through him," Pashayan said, "and frankly I think that's important."

Although officers of the thrift did not financially contribute to Pashayan's campaigns, some directors helped him stay in contact with the south San Joaquin Valley's Hispanic population. Diaz said his campaign involvement with Pashayan included raising money and sending out a political mailer.

"I helped him because he was the only one who helped us," Diaz said.

Presidio, which was incorporated in 1974, was declared insolvent by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in August 1985. For the next year, regulators provided financial assistance to the "New Presidio" to protect depositors, creditors and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. fund.

The Bank Board eventually decided that the S&L couldn't be maintained as a viable institution and ordered liquidation proceedings to begin in 1986.

Pashayan has been Presidio's single greatest advocate during the battle with federal regulators.

When regulators wanted to tighten the overall rules on thrift investments in a way that would have restricted some of Presidio's riskier ventures, Pashayan phoned the chief regulator about a half-dozen times to protest.

When the regulators persevered, Pashayan introduced legislation that would have protected the ability of Presidio and other state-chartered thrifts to engage in some of the riskier investments.

As the regulatory noose tightened around Presidio, Pashayan brought together regulators and Presidio officials for a meeting in his Capitol Hill office, and he says he personally called San Francisco-based regulators to urge another look at Presidio's status.

And when a House committee came to California last year to investigate problems in the thrift industry, Pashayan intervened to give two of Presidio's directors a chance to tell their story.

Pashayan says his myriad actions on Presidio's behalf were part of his constituent service. He believes, moreover, that federal regulators bear responsibility for Presidio's ultimate failure.

"They were being a bully," Pashayan said of the regulatory agency.

With the savings and loan bailout now estimated to cost taxpayers $130 billion to $200 billion over the next 40 years, that help has made Pashayan a target of Democrats and other critics.

Pashayan's Democratic opponent this year, Calvin Dooley of Visalia, hopes to exploit public resentment over the savings and loan bailout. In particular, Dooley focuses on the Keating contributions in 1986.

Pashayan said the contributions related to his anti-pornography work, which Keating supported, and had nothing to do with his actions on thrift regulations. Pashayan maintains that his concern all along was with Presidio and not Keating's firm.

When Presidio was chartered as a state institution, it was one of the few thrifts in the country controlled by Hispanics. Many of its officers have been politically connected: Chairman Gilbert Ynlques, for instance, served as a city councilman in Porterville, and Diaz was a former Delano school board member.

Presidio began small in 1974, capitalized with only $1 million in its first year. But it grew rapidly, particularly in the deregulated era of the early to mid-1980s, until it had reported assets of about $700 million by the time regulators took it over.

James Lauer of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board told the House Government Operations Committee in June 1987 that Presidio lost about $70 million through "unsafe and unsound" construction loans and joint ventures. Lauer testified that it lost an additional $10 million through speculative trading in U.S. Treasury Bonds futures.

Lauer testified that Presidio's trading was "pure speculation in an area where the institution had no expertise."

Presidio's officials took risks in the futures market in an effort to recover some of their construction loan losses, Lauer said. And even after officials had agreed to stop the speculating, they kept their hands in the market, he said.

In a lawsuit filed against Presidio directors — which was subsequently dropped — federal regulators charged that Presidio's construction loan files lacked such basic information as credit reports, inspection reports and loan applications.

Presidio, for instance, loaned $1.1 million for the construction of a gun club in Bakersfield. No appraisals or feasibility studies were done, regulators say.

The gun club owner went bankrupt, and regulators said the project was "poorly conceived and poorly located." It ended up losing more than half-a-million dollars for Presidio.

Diaz acknowledged in an interview that the gun club loan was a mistake. But he said most of the loans Presidio made were good loans.

Bank board examiners found in 1985 that Presidio was carrying about 20 delinquent construction loans totaling $22.1 million. In response to what regulators termed "high-risk" construction loans, state regulators issued an order in February 1985 prohibiting Presidio from making loans of more than $150,000.

Because other thrifts were encountering similar problems with their investments during the mid-1980s, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board tried to crack down across the industry.

In January 1985, the bank board adopted new regulations limiting direct investments in businesses. These investments had gotten the S&Ls away from their traditional home loans and into such ventures as race tracks, restaurants and shopping centers.

The new direct investment rule prohibited thrifts from putting more than 10 percent of assets in those investments.

Gray said he was called by Pashayan at least half a dozen times during the months before the adoption of the new rules. Each time, Gray said, Pashayan would insist that the new rules would hinder the ability of thrifts to do business. Not

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other member of Congress contacted him so often on the direct investment rule, Gray recalled.

"I wasn't on the banking committee, and I felt I had to shake the tree harder," Pashayan explained.

Diaz said it was clear that "bad blood" developed between Gray and Pashayan.

"I think Gray didn't like the idea of the congressman calling him on our behalf," Diaz said.

Gray, a Republican and a Fresno State University graduate, said that when he testified before the House Ethics Committee in 1988 on the question of House Speaker Jim Wright, Pashayan made repeated insinuations about Gray's motives and abilities.

The committee's counsel and another committee member subsequently apologized to Gray for Pashayan's behavior, Gray said.

Pashayan, citing the confidentiality of ethics committee deliberations, declined to discuss his questioning of Gray.

Pashayan was one of more than 200 members of Congress to sign a resolution urging the government to delay the 1985 rules by submitting them to Congress before implementing them.

Gray said the clear purpose of the proposed delay was to kill the regulations, but the rules went into effect.

In March 1985, after the rule had been adopted, Pashayan introduced a bill that would have allowed state-chartered thrifts to engage in any activity authorized by the state granting the charter.

Thrifts like Presidio could thus undertake ventures otherwise limited by the new federal rules, so long as they paid higher insurance premiums. The bill went nowhere.

Shannon Fairbanks, former executive director of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board said that she and other regulators met with Presidio officials in Pashayan's Washington, D.C., office during the period when both S&L rules and Presidio itself were being reviewed by federal regulators.

She said such meetings were fairly typical when members of Congress wanted to know why a local thrift was in trouble.

Fairbanks said the meeting with the Presidio directors stood out, however, because the directors did not deny that Presidio had problems. Instead, Fairbanks said, Presidio officials angrily wanted to know why regulators weren't advising them how to improve operations.

"These weren't slick operators," Fairbanks said. "They were inexperienced."

Pashayan said that he was not persuaded by the charges levied by federal regulators, either at that meeting or others.

"Agencies defend their actions and tend never to admit they're wrong," Pashayan said.

In August 1988, federal regulators shut Presidio down. Afterward, the federal government put on the auction block 109 San Joaquin Valley properties that fell into its lap when Presidio was closed.

The FSLIC, employing an outside law firm, then sued eight of the thrift's directors and its securities dealer for $80 million, charging fraud and negligence. The suit was subsequently dropped in 1988.

In a portion of a sealed court document from that suit provided by Diaz, the government's attorney says the legal action was dropped in part because of the defendants "vigorous denial of liability" and the difficulty of proving damages.

However, in a separate filing, the FSLIC attorney told the court that the government would have little trouble winning the case and securing a judgment of "millions of dollars." But collecting would have been another matter because of the defendants' lack of funds.

Presidio's officials have been stubborn in their defense, aggressively pursuing their harassment suit against the FSLIC. They continue to contend that the S&L's losses were the result of improper intervention by regulators instead of speculative trading.

In March 1987, Diaz sent then-President Reagan a letter describing the "outright discriminatory practices" of the bank board.

In his letter, Diaz contended that anti-Hispanic discrimination played a big factor in Presidio being shut down.

Ex-officer of Presidio says he sought Montoya's help

By JIM BOREN
Bee politics writer

Even after regulators filed an $80 million lawsuit against some directors and officers of the now-defunct Presidio Savings and Loan in 1988, former director Angel Diaz refused to give up.

And just as Diaz turned to Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, for help in fighting the federal regulators, Diaz said he also turned to a friend in the state Legislature for money to help keep the legal battle alive and his family afloat.

That friend was state Sen. Joseph Montoya, who would end up having legal battles of his own. The money that Montoya loaned Diaz, a Delano businessman, came from the lawmaker's campaign funds.

The loans caught the eye of federal authorities who were investigating Montoya on possible corruption charges. This year, Montoya, a Los Angeles County Democrat, was convicted in federal court in Sacramento of racketeering, money laundering and extortion.

Sources in the U.S. Attorney's Office say that Diaz was not a target in the Montoya criminal investigation.

But a civil suit filed in February by the state Attorney General's Office and the state Fair Political Practices Commission charges that Diaz was involved in a money-laundering scheme with Montoya.

Diaz denies the allegation. He is not named as a defendant in the civil suit, which is aimed at Montoya.

The suit says that Montoya's campaign committee loaned Diaz $50,000, but the real purpose of the loans was to make the money "available for Montoya's personal use."

"Diaz never repaid the 'loans' to the campaign committee," the suit says. "Instead, Diaz 'laundered' such funds through a number of intermediaries for the purpose of making such funds available for the personal use of defendant Montoya."

Diaz said the authorities have their facts wrong. He said Montoya actually loaned him $70,000 and that he had been paying him back with interest of 10 to 12 percent a year. The loans have been reduced to about $41,000, according to Diaz.

"Joe wasn't the only one who lent me money," Diaz said. "My mother did. My brother did. I haven't worked for five years. I used the money to keep my family going and to fight the [federal] suit."

Diaz said he met Montoya when he was on the Delano school board.

"When he was a senator, I used to bring him in to talk to schools and youth," Diaz said.

After the regulators made their move against the Presidio directors, Diaz said no one would help him.

"I was a man in California known as someone who had an $80 million lawsuit on my head," he said. "Thank God I was a migrant worker and knew how to live off the land. I haven't had heat or cooling for the last three years.

"We were down to beans and potatoes because we believe so strongly in fighting the damn government. And I knew that I would beat them in the end."

Michael Doyle of The Bee's Washington Bureau contributed to this story.

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Editorials

November cliff-hanger

CALVIN DOOLEY
U.S. CONGRESS

DOOLEY v. PASHAYAN
17TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Front page headlines in mid-July district newspapers chronicle Rep. "Chip" Pashayan's re-election vulnerability and repeat the stories reported in 1989 about Pashayan's ties to Charles Keating, lobbying on behalf of the savings and loan industry, $28,000 in S & L contributions, and the spiraling cost to taxpayers as high as $5,000 per person.

When Pashayan's weaknesses are combined with Cal Dooley's strengths as a fourth-generation farmer in the Tulare/Kings Counties heart of this district, they add up to an edge for Dooley.

Pashayan's Tenuous Support Shattered by S & L Scandal

Washington D.C.'s Roll Call newspaper that covers congress reported that Pashayan is "the most vulnerable member in the House." Leading a list of 20 members "most in jeopardy," Pashayan has been featured in national newspapers and network reporting as the media focuses public attention on accountability.

> **"Even Republicans are admitting that California's 17th district seat will be difficult one to hold. And Democrats have lined up a strong challenger against Pashayan, whose role in the savings and loan crisis may prove fatal in his bid for a seventh term."**
> **Roll Call, THE NEWSPAPER OF CONGRESS, July 16, 1990**

A district survey conducted on June 21-23 for Dooley by the California firm of Fairbank, Bregman and Maullin found that even before voters learn of Pashayan's S & L ties, 42% say they would prefer a new person. After learning of his contributions from Charles Keating and specific information about his role in the crisis, 71% of the voters say they are likely to vote for someone other than Pashayan!

The district survey findings are backed up by a Newsweek poll reporting 82% public awareness of the scandal, and a USA Today poll finding 66% say the crisis is "very serious," 53% say it will effect the way they vote for Congress.

When rated by leading public interest groups, Pashayan "flunks" League of Conservation Voters with a grade of "O", and is rated overall at 22% favorable by the National Education Association, 36% by AFL-CIO, 27% by Consumer Federation of America, and 29% by the National Council of Senior Citizens.

THE DOOLEY FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE
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Dooley Base of District Support

In the district's hotly contested June primary election, Dooley gained 59% of the vote, and won endorsements from the districts' leading legislators, deputy sheriffs' associations, and state and national teachers' associations. Districtwide editorial endorsements from rural and urban centers gave Dooley high marks for knowledge of the farm economy, roots in the district and ability to bring a new perspective to Congress.

"Dooley...roots in the district, the diversity and breadth of his experience, and his potential for bringing a fresh outsider's perspective to the turned inward world of Congress." Fresno Bee, 5/25/90

"Dooley...a candidate with a solid chance to unseat six-term incumbent U.S. Rep. "Chip" Pashayan...established his credibility locally, and we believe he has the ability to do the same in Congress." Visalia Times Delta, 5/29/90

"Dooley...a life of work and family-building in this area...an awareness of our primary industry that no amount of study could equal." Tulare Advance Register, 5/31/90

"Dooley...a man of vision, a man of integrity and a man of wisdom." Lemoore Advance, 5/24/90

"Dooley...a leader in Tulare County agriculture...the best and cleanest opponent to put up against longtime Republican Congressman Charles Pashayan." The Hanford Sentinel, 6/3/90

Dooley is challenging Pashayan on his record on rural health care, neglect of water and agricultural issues critical to the district, and inability to effectively and ethically resolve the savings and loan disaster. Dooley's campaign operations are led by Rose McFarland King of DIRECTIONS, a California advertising firm that has assembled a team of veteran professionals, including the firms of Dalton Media, Fresno, the polling firm of Fairbank, Bregman & Maullin, Los Angeles, and Campaign Coordinator, Amy Herbert, as well as DIRECTIONS' Principal Associate Marco Trbovich and Associates Wayne Ranick and Steve Burrell.

"I'm a candidate because I believe Congress needs a good dose of our valley work ethic to get results -- and I don't believe we can trust the resolution to the savings and loan disaster to "Chip" Pashayan who played a key role in creating the problem." Calvin Dooley

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THE FRESNO BEE Friday, August 3, 1990

Pashayan will lose, Democrats say

By MICHAEL DOYLE
Bee Washington bureau

ELECTION '90

WASHINGTON — The chief fund-raiser for House Democrats all but predicted Thursday that Fresno Republican Charles "Chip" Pashayan will be defeated in November.

Speaking before political reporters, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chairman Beryl Anthony asserted that Pashayan is one of three House Republicans slated to fall to challengers this year. "I think [these] are three you better get acquainted with, because you're not going to see them next year," Anthony told reporters. The other two targeted Republicans, Arlan Stangeland of Minnesota and Denny Smith of Oregon, have been caught up in either personal or financial controversies. Pashayan, now running for his seventh term against Democrat Calvin Dooley of Visalia, has been the subject of critical attention because of campaign contributions from savings-and-loan officials.

Pashayan expressed little concern about the comments of the highly partisan Anthony, and noted that other observers have already pegged him as politically vulnerable.

"There's nothing new from what the politicos have been saying for the past several months," Pashayan said.

Roll Call, a semiweekly newspaper covering Capitol Hill, tagged Pashayan as the most-vulnerable member of the House two weeks ago.

Anthony, a Democratic congressman from Arkansas, said

See Pashayan, Page B3

Pashayan

Continued from Valley page

that Pashayan was vulnerable partly because of public outrage over the collapse of hundreds of savings-and-loans.

"The savings-and-loan noose is strongly around the Republicans' neck," Anthony said. "The public is now realizing that it was the Republican administration that was controlling the bureaucracies."

Pashayan heavily lobbied federal regulators on behalf of a thrift in Porterville that was seized in 1985. One year after his lobbying efforts, Pashayan received $26,000 in campaign contributions from financier Charles Keating Jr. and other officials associated with Lincoln Savings and Loan.

The collapse of Lincoln is expected to cost taxpayers about $2 billion, making it the most-expensive thrift failure ever. The collapse of Presidio, by contrast, was estimated to cost the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. about $35 million.

Pashayan says he received the Keating contributions for his work on anti-pornography legislation. Pashayan returned the money after hearing Keating say he hoped campaign contributions influenced politicians.

Anthony's comments Thursday partly reflected the partisan finger-pointing over the savings-and-loan mess, which is expected to cost taxpayers at least $135 billion over 40 years. Some estimates put the bail-out cost much higher.

While Anthony tried to blame Republicans, Republicans are just as eagerly citing supposed Democratic complicity.

Anthony's predecessor, former Congressman Tony Coelho of Merced, was pictured in a recent Republican newspaper ad that contended key Democrats caused the mess.

As DCCC head for six years, Coelho aggressively raised money from savings-and-loan officials and other businessmen, some of whom have become the targets of federal investigations.

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Dooley, Pashayan race heating up

By Steve Breen
Advance-Register

Congressional candidate Cal Dooley trotted out some high-powered Democratic support Monday on behalf of his campaign to unseat incumbent Congressman Charles "Chip" Pashayan Jr.

Congressman Beryl Anthony Jr., chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, spoke to Dooley supporters in what may begin a procession of political heavyweights visiting the 17th Congressional District.

And as expected, Anthony told the gathering at the Visalia Holiday Inn that Dooley had the credentials to end Pashayan's six-term reign representing the district that includes Tulare.

"When we matched Cal Dooley's background and his opportunity to defeat a Republican opponent, this race went right to the top of our list," said Beryl, an Arkansas congressman.

Pashayan has been identified by the Washington political newsletter Roll Call as the most vulnerable Republican in the House of Representatives.

The congressman's unqualified support of federal water subsidies for farmers was seized on by Anthony and Dooley as an issue that proves Pashayan is out of touch with his constituents, they said.

Both Democrats criticized Pashayan for what they saw was his steadfast refusal to compromise on a recent House amendment strictly limiting federal water subsidies to farms of 960 acres or less.

Critics of the federal water policy have accused some owners of farms larger than 960 acres of splitting up their land in family trusts to avoid acreage limitations set earlier by Congress.

"He's [Pashayan] an example of putting the interests of corporate farming ahead of the family farms," said Dooley, himself a Visalia-area farmer.

Pashayan's stance on behalf of corporate farmers puts other farm-related programs in jeopardy with lawmakers, Anthony argued.

"It poisons the well of the minds of non-rural legislators who don't understand farm programs," he said. "Then they want to vote against everything."

Dooley also pointed out that he has the backing from Congressional leaders for a seat on the House's Agricultural Committee.

He referred to a letter from House Speaker Thomas Foley that supported his bid for that committee.

As he has throughout the campaign, Dooley also hammered on Pashayan's past links to the savings and loan industry. The congressman had received campaign contributions in 1986 from the family of Charles Keating, who is accused of illegally diverting depositors' funds in his Lincoln Savings.

Pashayan returned the money three years later, but Dooley claims the congressman lobbied federal officials to ease off on their investigation of the institution.

In a press release, Dooley also belittled Pashayan's recent claims that taxpayers would feel little impact from the government's massive bailout of the savings and loan industry. The bailout is estimated at several hundred billion dollars.

"Those must be the same blinders he had on when he was an advocate of dubious savings and loans executives at a time when the scandal was unfolding," Dooley said.

With the campaign heating up, other high-ranking officials are expected to visit the district on behalf of each candidate.

Louis Sullivan, secretary of the Health and Human Services Department for the Bush administration, came to Visalia last month to tour local hospitals and support Pashayan in his re-election bid.

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House Demos back Dooley

Agriculture Committee seat promised

By JIM BOREN
Bee politics writer

In an attempt to give congressional challenger Calvin Dooley a boost among farmers, House Democrats have virtually guaranteed him a seat on the Agriculture Committee if he defeats Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, in November.

Rep. Beryl Anthony, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, said Monday that he supports Dooley's bid for the committee assignment because it is "critical to the valley's economy." Dooley's campaign staff also released a letter from House Speaker Tom Foley that says he backs Dooley for the post.

Speaking to Dooley supporters in Visalia and Fresno, Anthony said that if the speaker wants a member on a certain committee, you can bet that the speaker will get his way.

In recent valley congressional races, the Democrats have used the possibility of an Agriculture Committee appointment to beef up their candidates' farm credentials. During last year's special election in the 15th Congressional District, House Democrats guaranteed Rep. Gary Condit, D-Ceres, an Agriculture Committee seat if he won the election.

During the two campaign stops Monday, Dooley and Anthony were critical of Pashayan for not being on the Agriculture Committee and for "aligning himself with corporate farming interests" at the expense of family farmers.

Anthony said that Pashayan's uncompromising support of corporate farmers has begun to "poison the well to the point" that many urban lawmakers in the East will not support any farm programs. Anthony represents a rural district in southern Arkansas.

Dooley was especially critical of Pashayan's role in Rep. George Miller's move to limit federal water subsidies.

"In backing the status quo on water subsidy issues, Pashayan has clearly put the corporate farming interests ahead of legitimate family farming, which is the backbone of this district and the valley," Dooley said.

"By defending the Boswell Trust, Pashayan has left family farmers high and dry. The real consequence is that fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, will have tremendous difficulties in operating prosperous family farms together."

The J.G. Boswell Co. sold its Boston Ranch to a trust made up of 326 company employees. Because each employee's interest is less than the 960-acre limit, the land is eligible for subsidized water.

Critics contend that the arrangement violated the spirit of a 1982 federal law designed to limit the size of farms that receive water subsidies. Pashayan defended the trust, calling it a legitimate way for Boswell to dispose of its land and take care of its employees.

"By blindly sticking to a position supported by his corporate farming benefactors, Pashayan turned his back on a chance to negotiate a compromise and instead further sabotaged legitimate family farming," Dooley said.

Anthony said the race is a Democratic priority. He said the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee will help Dooley raise money, and the committee also will provide campaign resources, staff time and polling services.

Dooley said he will need to raise about $450,000 to defeat Pashayan. The Democratic challenger picked up about $25,000 Monday with the help of Anthony's appearance.

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Dooley on the offensive

Pashayan opponent hits committee shift

MARK PRATTER
Sentinel Staff Writer

Congressional candidate Cal Dooley told members of the Hanford Kiwanis Club yesterday that Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan's resignation from committee seats that pertain to Valley interests has hurt the district.

Pashayan gave up seats on the House Interior Committee and the subcommittee on water and power for a seat on the House Rules Committee.

Dooley called Pashayan's changes in committee assignments another example of Pashayan has abandoning the interests of his district.

Pashayan spokesman John O'Donnell said by accepting a seat on rules, Pashayan gets a chance to look at virtually every piece of legislation that goes to the House floor. The chairman of the water and power subcommittee is Pashayan's ideological foe, George Miller, O'Donnell said. "Chip has a better chance to affect legislation through rules than the subcommittee on water and power," O'Donnell said.

Dooley announced last week that House Speaker Tom Foley has assured Dooley help in gaining a seat on the House Agriculture Committee if Tulare Democrat is elected to Congress.

"The speaker gave him his full support," said a spokesman for the speaker's office today. The spokesman, who didn't want his name used, said "it's not a done thing but the speaker's support is crucial."

The speaker appoints half the members to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. That group decides on committee appointments, the spokesman said. George Kundanis, the director of the steering and policy committee, was out of town and could not be reached for comment.

Gary Feinstein/*Sentinel Staff Photographer*

The Pashayan-Dooley race's importance was highlighted Monday when Dooley, right, was joined in campaigning by Arkansas Congressman Beryl Anthony.

The Dooley-Pashayan race has received some national press because of Pashayan's acceptance of a $26,000

See DOOLEY; Page 12

Dooley

Continued from Page 1

campaign contribution from Lincoln Savings executive Charles Keating.

Dooley attacked the Fresno Republican for accepting the contribution—which Pashayan later returnedbut Dooley didn't just focus on the savings and loan crisis yesterday. He took a shotgun approach touching on a variety of topics, including what he described as Pashayan's support for corporate farming at the expense of smaller farmers.

"He has left the rest of us high and dry," said Dooley, whose family farms in Tulare County.

Dooley said the 17th District's congressman should reflect the priorities of all the people, not just the big and powerful.

Dooley said Pashayan served as a lightning rod for criticism of J.G. Boswell Co.'s use of a loophole to get around water limitation rules. The use of this loophole enabled Rep. George Miller, D-Martinez, to say that farmers were taking advantage of the law, Dooley said.

The Boswell Co. split up a 23,338-acre Central Valley cotton farm to circumvent a 1982 law prohibiting farms of more than 960 acres from receiving less expensive federal irrigation water. The farms were put in Boswell employees' names. The Boswell Co. then collected a $1 million payment for managing the farms, Dooley said.

Dooley said the Boswell Co. may have worked within the letter of the law but not the spirit of it.

"There is a sentiment that we as farmers feed off the public trough," Dooley said. "That's not true but it has to be dealt with."

Another problem that merits top priority is the national debt. Dooley said he supports a presidential line-item veto of budget items, something Pashayan opposes.

Pashayan opposes the line-item veto, O'Donnell said, because he feels it will give the president too much power and will eliminate the Congressional check on the executive branch.

Dooley called the $3.2 trillion national debt a "stealth tax" which the public feels through higher prices but does not see as a tax.

Dooley said in making decisions about the family farm, he does a cost-benefit analysis. He said it should be no different with national spending. He said the Congress has to look at spending on social programs, military spending and

VISALIA TIMES DELTA
August 31, 1990

Dooley lists Republican supporters

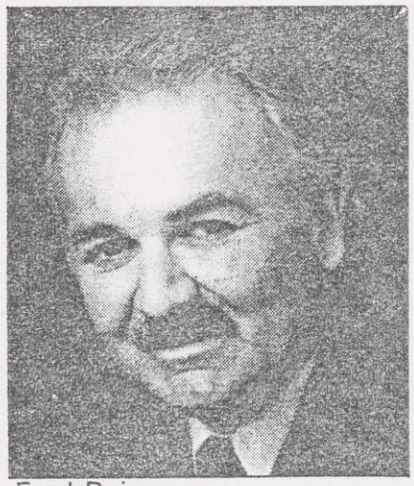
By Scott Timmons
Times-Delta

Calvin Dooley, the Democratic challenger to Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan Jr., R-Fresno, has formed a Tulare County Republicans for Dooley Committee.

Among the local Republicans who have come out for Dooley is Fred Ruiz, president of Ruiz Food Products Inc. of Tulare.

"I'm a little disenchanted with Chip Pashayan," Ruiz said. "He hasn't done what I would say is a bad job, but he could have done a better job. For the amount of time he's been in office he should be doing more for our area."

What particularly rankles Ruiz about the six-term incumbent is his resignation from the House Interior Committee, "which is very important for the Valley."



Fred Ruiz
. . . Tulare business owner

"I feel we need better representation," Ruiz added.

The 17th Congressional District includes all of Tulare and Kings counties and parts of Fresno and Kern counties.

Members of the Republicans for Dooley Committee include:

■ Bill and Joyce Bogard of Visalia, who are involved in

See Dooley/3C

Dooley

Continued from page 1C

construction and development.

■ Tokkie Elliot, an Ivanhoe agribusinessman.

■ Mary Godsey, a Visalia educator.

■ Kay Harrell, the wife of former Tulare County Supervisor Bob Harrell.

■ Gary and Ann Hester, Visalia farmers.

■ Curtis and Charlotte Spott of Exeter. Curtis Spott, an attorney, is the former Exeter Justice Court judge.

■ Jim Vagim of Porterville, owner of Tall Man's Subaru.

Rose King, Dooley's campaign consultant, said these Tulare County Republicans are the first of a wave of GOP support for Dooley.

"They intend to make contacts with other Republicans and business leaders in Kings, Kern and Fresno counties to urge them to join, and they have plans for a Republicans for Dooley fund-raiser," King said.

Pashayan could not be reached for comment. Fred Asslin, consultant at the Pashayan for Congress Committee in Fresno, had no comment.

Local Republicans are not alarmed.

"I don't see it as a mass erosion of support," said Mickey George, a member of Pashayan's Tulare County reelection committee. "This is going to be a tight race districtwide, particularly in Tulare County.

"It's been fully expected that Dooley would put together that kind of support, because Dooley has been active in agriculture and politics in Tulare County for a long time," he said.

George owns a farm in Sultana, and the family business, George Brothers, grows, packs and ships tree fruits and grapes.

George said the names he recognizes on the Republicans for Dooley Committee are members of the Tulare County Farm Bureau. "And he draws heavily on it for support. It comes from long-term acquaintance, working together with that organization."

Nonetheless, Dooley's long-term acquaintance with the Farm Bureau wasn't enough to persuade its board of directors to endorse his candidacy. The board, after hearing from both candidates Monday night, declined to endorse either.

Dooley plans fund-raisers

Staff reports

Calvin Dooley, who is seeking the 17th Congressional District seat in November, has scheduled five fund-raising events for next month.

■ **Sept. 7:** A campaign kickoff begins at 6:30 p.m. at the home of Tokkie and Jackie Elliott, 15670 Avenue 320 in Ivanhoe. Cocktails, dinner and musical entertainment will be provided. Tickets: $60.

■ **Sept. 16:** A Western-style barbecue begins at 4 p.m. at the Faria Farms Vetter Ranch off Road 128 in Tipton. Tickets: $50 per couple.

■ **Sept. 22:** "An Evening Under the Stars" is the title of a dinner at the Bettencourt home, 1630 N. Irwin St. in Hanford. The event begins at 6:30 p.m. Tickets: $60.

■ **Sept. 28:** A Hawaiian luau begins at 6 p.m. at the home of Bill and Joyce Bogard, 213 High Sierra Drive in Exeter. Tickets: $60.

■ **Sept. 30:** A casual Italian luncheon begins at 11:30 a.m. at the Visalia home of David and Maria Bacigalupo, 445 Midland Drive. Tickets: $35.

Information: 733-8348.

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THE FRESNO BEE
Sept. 5, 1990

Pashayan says he returned '89 donation from Iraq lobbyist

Bee Metro staff

Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, said Tuesday that he has returned a $1,000 campaign contribution he received in 1989 from a Washington lobbyist who has represented Iraq.

It is the second $1,000 contribution Pashayan has given back to lobbyist Edward van Kloberg III. He returned the first contribution last month after the crisis in the Persian Gulf began.

"There's a certain symbolism there I'd rather not be associated with," Pashayan said at the time.

But he did not return the 1989 contribution immediately, he said, because he was unsure whether van Kloberg had represented Iraq during that year.

After a Bee story cited Justice Department records showing that van Kloberg was working for Iraq in 1989, Pashayan said he told his campaign staff to return the contribution.

Van Kloberg, a former university administrator, has represented a number of other controversial clients, including Haiti, Romania, Zaire and Liberia.

The van Kloberg contributions represent the second batch of controversial campaign donations Pashayan has returned.

Late last year, Pashayan, who is locked in a tough re-election battle with Democrat Calvin Dooley, returned $26,000 from Charles Keating and associates of the former savings and loan executive.

Dooley said giving the money back to van Kloberg was "certainly an appropriate response."

But he added that district voters should demand representation from a member of Congress who "does not respond to special-interest money."

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THE FRESNO BEE Sept. 5, 1990

Fresno Bee 9/5/90

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2 candidates hear concerns

Issues varied in 17th District

THE FRESNO BEE

Sept. 6, 1990

By JIM BOREN
Bee politics writer

EXETER — The headline issues in the 17th Congressional District campaign may be the savings-and-loan crisis and farm-water subsidies, but on the campaign trail the candidates are finding that voters are concerned about a wider range of issues.

"The valley has a big air-quality problem and I'd like to see some leadership in cleaning up the air," Shirley Kirkpatrick offered at a reception in Exeter for Democratic challenger Calvin Dooley.

"When I grew up in the Easton area, you could see the sun going down over the Coast Range and turn around and see its reflection in the Sierra."

Dirty air is just one of many problems that Dooley and Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, are hearing about as they stump for votes in Fresno, Tulare, Kings and Kern counties.

The situation in the Persian Gulf seems to be on everyone's mind, but the candidates also are being asked about health care, education, trade, Social Security, the federal pension system and insurance-industry regulations.

During a walk through the Hanford business district, Pashayan stopped at the office of civil engineer John A. Zumwalt.

"I hope the Middle East crisis doesn't turn into another Korea where we sit and look at each other in the eye for 15 years," Zumwalt said.

Pashayan assured him that President Bush was doing everything possible to resolve the situation and added that Congress probably would not go along with a protracted stalemate in the region.

Land surveyor James F. Hansen, who is in business with Zumwalt, said the savings-and-loan situation has made it more difficult for the building industry to get financing.

"We work with developers and money isn't readily available anymore," he said.

At another stop on Irwin Street, Pashayan talked hunting with James Johnson, a certified public accountant. The heads of five bighorn sheep and other trophies were mounted to the office wall.

"I'm a thirty-aught-six man," Pashayan said, as he extolled the virtues of his preferred rifle caliber, the 30.06. "I like the thirty-aught-six because of the variety you can get in bullets."

Heading out the door, Pashayan said he wanted to find a sporting-goods store to get his hunting license. He didn't find one and finally said he'd have to get it another day.

At Forsythe Insurance Agency, Don Forsythe said he had heard a "lot of rumblings" that the insurance industry may have its own regulatory crisis and end up like the S&L industry. Pashayan said he had not heard that, but would look into it.

Down at the Citizens National Bank, Pashayan and Kings County campaign aides Donna Maline and Ron Stockton settled into the office of bank chairman Tex Davis. Citizens has been taken over by Mineral King National Bank.

Davis, who has been in banking for 50 years, launched into a lecture about how the lack of regulatory supervision was a major contributor to the S&L crisis. Pashayan agreed.

Dooley has been attacking Pashayan for taking contributions from the S&L industry and for lobbying regulators. Pashayan said that he was only representing constituents when he called regulators and there would never have been a crisis if the Federal Home Loan Bank Board had been doing its job.

Back in Exeter, Dooley was mingling with guests at a reception at the Exeter Memorial Building. Gary and Anne Hester and John and Shirley Kirkpatrick invited a handful of Republican friends to meet the Democratic candidate.

Gary Hester, who farms plums, walnuts and citrus, said he would like to see his congressional representative spend more time in the district. A key issue for him is for the government to expand foreign trade.

He also said farming needs more advocates to explain the industry's problems.

"So many people think that peaches come out of a can and milk comes from a carton," Hester said.

At the side of the room, Bill Huffman and Bill Ellis are swapping stories. They are both retired postmasters for Exeter.

Ellis said he's interested in good political representation and adds that he thinks a limit on terms at all levels of government might be a good thing. Huffman said that may not be a bad idea and points out that 98 percent of all congressional incumbents got re-elected two years ago.

Huffman said he opposes the "Big Green" environmental initiative because it will hurt farming in the valley. The measure would phase out a number of pesticides used by valley farmers.

Both Pashayan and Dooley oppose the proposition.

"Government also needs to find a way to guarantee an adequate water supply for the state's farmers," Huffman said.

Both ex-postmasters said the nation also needs affordable health care and affordable insurance.

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THE FRESNO BEE

Sept. 6, 1990

Valley elections on radio

Democratic congressional candidate Calvin Dooley has begun running a 60-second radio advertisement attacking Rep. Charles "Chip" Pashayan, R-Fresno, on the savings and loan crisis.

Analysis is by Jim Boren, Bee politics writer

Ad: "You know what's criminal about the savings and loan scandal? The people who robbed our nation's economy are not paying a price. S&L millionaires are still living high on the hog — they're not in prison. And politicians deny responsibility.

"That's why Calvin Dooley wants to make our valley ethics work in Congress. . . . The ethic Dooley learned as a family farmer and businessman. Dooley wants S&L millionaires in jail and taxpayers repaid."

Analysis: The Justice Department reports that 328 S&L defendants have been charged, with 231 of them sentenced to prison so far. However, Attorney General Richard Thornburgh has acknowledged that only a fraction of the executives have paid their court-ordered restitutions. He says the administration is aggressively pursuing fraud prosecutions. But FBI officials contend that they don't have enough agents to investigate all the fraud allegations. The cost of the S&L bailout could be as much as $500 billion, with most of the money expected to come from taxpayers.

Ad: "Dooley says the rules in Congress let the S&Ls loot our economy and undercut our independence. Congressman 'Chip' Pashayan disagrees. Pashayan still says there was nothing wrong with the rules that let the S&L owners clean our wallets.

"Pashayan denies responsibility for the mess, even though he got big campaign contributions from savings and loans — after he sponsored laws to give them everything they wanted."

Analysis: Pashayan blames the regulators for the S&L crisis. He says that if the Federal Home Loan Bank Board had been doing its job, it would have caught the high-flying thrifts before they looted their businesses. Pashayan received $26,000 in contributions from Charles Keating and associates of the former Lincoln Savings and Loan executive. He returned the contributions last year as the S&L crisis heated up. He received no other substantial contributions directly from the S&L industry. Pashayan said he never lobbied regulators on behalf of Keating, but he did try to block regulations opposed by Keating. Pashayan said he was actually lobbying on behalf of a small S&L in his district. Pashayan also introduced legislation that would have allowed state-chartered thrifts to engage in riskier investments.

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ADVANCE REGISTER

Sept. 6, 1990

Environment groups pick Cal Dooley

A consortium of environmental groups has endorsed Democrat Cal Dooley in his bid to unseat incumbent Congressman Charles "Chip" Pashayan Jr.

The decision of the League of Conservation Voters to back Dooley was announced Wednesday in Hanford.

Ali Webb, national communications director, said Dooley will commit strongly to environmental issues if elected to represent the 17th Congressional District, which includes Tulare.

In contrast, Pashayan has compiled a dismal environmental record during his six terms in the House of Representatives, Webb said.

The Fresno Republican was given a zero rating by the league for his votes on environmental issues in 1989, the worst of any California legislator, Webb said.

She noted that Dooley is opposed to Proposition 115, while the league supports the initiative dubbed "Big Green" that proposes tough new standards for chemicals in foods and other environmental measures.

Webb, however, pointed to that difference as a measure of Dooley's independence.

The League is made up of 15 environmental groups, including the National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation and Sierra Club.

2023.009.0394 Z2

Pashayan keeping gifts from Lincoln lobbyist

By MICHAEL DOYLE
and JIM BOREN
Bee staff writers

WASHINGTON — A lobbyist for Lincoln Savings and Loan, the nation's costliest thrift failure, has regularly contributed to Fresno Republican Charles Rep. "Chip" Pashayan's campaigns over the past five years.

But while Pashayan already has returned $26,000 in other contributions from people associated with Lincoln executive Charles Keating Jr., he does not intend to return the $4,350 he received from lawyer Leonard Bickwit Jr.

"This is not Keating money," Pashayan said Thursday. "These are campaign contributions from a friend. I've known him for over 20 years. We dealt professionally. But if I hadn't known him for so long, I doubt if he would have contributed to me."

Pashayan said he had discussed S&L issues with Bickwit, but "we spent a lot more time on nuclear stuff." The congressman said that Bickwit represents the nuclear industry, and "I've always believed in nuclear energy."

Bickwit, a former staff member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, agreed Thursday that the "greater part" of his contacts with Pashayan had been on issues unrelated to savings and loans. He also said his political contributions had been based "first and foremost" on personal friendship with Pashayan.

Pashayan's Democratic opponent, Calvin Dooley of Visalia, suggests otherwise.

Dooley said a bill introduced by Pashayan in March 1985 to permit Lincoln and other state-chartered thrifts to engage in riskier investment activities was related to the campaign contributions from Bickwit.

"Clearly, Bickwit as the lobbyist for Charles Keating and Lincoln solicited Pashayan to introduce this piece of legislation to the direct benefit of Charles Keating," Dooley said. "Chip obviously wasn't working in the best interests of the district. The money was contributed in response to an action and Chip ought to return it."

Pashayan maintains that he introduced his 1985 legislation to help a thrift in his own district, the Porterville-based Presidio

See Pashayan, Page B4

Pashayan

Continued from Valley page

Savings and Loan. Presidio eventually was declared insolvent by federal regulators in August 1985.

While Pashayan does not sit on a committee with jurisdiction over banking issues, a number of other recipients of Bickwit's contributions hold key seats on the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee, Federal Election Commission records show.

In addition, two senators who have received Bickwit's contributions — Ohio Democrat John Glenn and Arizona Democrat Dennis DeConcini — are part of the so-called "Keating Five."

The phrase refers to five senators who received about $1 million in Keating contributions and are the subject of a Senate Ethics Committee investigation into whether they improperly intervened on Lincoln's behalf with federal thrift regulars.

Bickwit's political contributions are not part of the "Keating Five" investigation, and they are consistent with federal election laws governing contributions.

Pashayan received $26,000 from Keating and his family members and associates between June and August 1986.

He returned the contributions this year one day before a congressional hearing into Lincoln's collapse, which is expected to cost taxpayers as much as $2 billion.

Pashayan said he returned the money because he didn't like reading Keating's comment that he hoped all his contributions won him political influence.

Pashayan says the Keating contributions resulted from a shared interest in anti-pornography legislation.

Bickwit registered as a lobbyist for Lincoln in September 1984, according to Clerk of the House records, and earned $36,000 from the savings and loan in 1985.

He made his first $1,000 contribution to Pashayan in June 1985, about three months after Pashayan introduced his S&L legislation.

Bickwit followed with $1,000 annual contributions for the next three years, and another $350 in June.

The law firm for which Bickwit works, Miller and Chevalier Chartered, was retained for lobbying by Lincoln and its parent corporation through last year.

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